

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----096154 121052Z /13
P 121033Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7011

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 TOKYO 06290

EXDIS

FOR HOLBROOKE AND NSC ARMACOST FROM SHERMAN

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR, US, JA
SUBJECT: BRZEZINSKI SPEECH TO JAPAN SOCIETY

1. ANY SPEECH TO JAPAN SOCIETY BY PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR WOULD BE CAREFULLY PERUSED AND ANALYZED HERE, BUT COMING AS IT WILL ON EVE OF FUKUDA-CARTER SUMMIT, WE CAN BE ASSURED EVERY WORD OF APRIL 24 ADDRESS WILL BE SCRUTINIZED NOT ONLY FOR CONTEXT BUT FOR ASSUMED SIGNALS AS TO POSITIONS PRESIDENT WILL TAKE WITH FUKUDA NINE DAYS LATER.

2. IN THIS SENSE, WE BELIEVE SPEECH CAN BE EXTREMELY USEFUL IN CREATING RIGHT ATMOSPHERE AND WE KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE GIVING CAREFUL THOUGHT TO DRAFT WITH THIS IN MIND. FOLLOWING COMMENTS, REFLECTING EMBASSY VIEWS IN REGARD TO SUMMIT, ARE OFFERED FOR YOUR POSSIBLE USE.

3. THE MAJOR ECONOMIC ISSUES ADDRESSED IN THE STRAUSS-USHIBA COMMUNIQUE, NOTABLY JAPAN'S GROWTH RATE, TRADE AND CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS, REMAIN THE CENTER OF OUR BILATERAL ATTENTION. WE DO NOT REGARD THESE AS INTRACTA-
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BLE DILEMMAS BUT WE RECOGNIZE THAT SOLUTIONS WILL TAKE TIME, AND WILL HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN A WORLD CONTEXT. WE RECOGNIZE THAT GOALS JAPAN HAS SET FOR ITSELF FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH AND PAYMENT SURPLUS REDUCTION CANNOT EASILY BE ATTAINED. WHILE YEN APPRECIATION WILL SOMETIME SOON BEGIN TO AFFECT CURRENT ACCOUNT SURPLUS, ITS IMMEDIATE EFFECTS ARE TO MAKE ATTAINMENT OF GROWTH TARGET MORE

DIFFICULT. WE WOULD HOPE SPEECH, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING DIFFICULTIES, WILL EXPRESS CONFIDENCE JAPAN IS MAKING EARNEST EFFORT TO DO THE BEST IT CAN. CERTAINLY IT WILL SERVE NO USEFUL PURPOSE TO EXHORT THE JAPANESE TO ADDITIONAL EFFORT WITHOUT TABLING NEW IDEAS OR TAKING NOTE OF WHAT IS ALREADY IN TRAIN. WE WOULD ALSO SUGGEST THAT SPEECH ACKNOWLEDGE THAT PORTION OF BURDEN WHICH RESTS WITH U.S.: ENERGY CONSERVATION, INFLATION CONTROL, EXPORT PROMOTION, ETC. IT WOULD ALSO BE APPROPRIATE TO UNDERSCORE MULTILATERAL NATURE OF STRAUSS-USHIBA COMMUNIQUE, AND, IN THIS CONTEXT CALL ATTENTION TO IMPORTANCE OF U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP FOR WHOLE WORLD.

4. PERHAPS MOST USEFUL THEME SPEECH MIGHT STRESS IS THAT U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP IS SIMPLY TOO BROAD, TOO DEEP AND TOO IMPORTANT TO PERMIT CURRENT BILATERAL ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES TO DOMINATE IT. IF CURRENT TRADE PATTERN CAUSES POLITICAL PROBLEMS ON BOTH SIDES OF PACIFIC, IN ITS SUM TOTAL IT ALSO PROVIDES JOBS FOR MILLIONS AND IS OF VOLUME WORLD NEVER BELIEVED IMAGINABLE A FEW YEARS AGO. (FOR EXAMPLE, TWO-WAY TRADE IN 1977 WAS ELEVEN TIMES THAT IN 1960, WHEN TREATY OF MUTUAL COOPERATION AND SECURITY WAS SIGNED.) U.S.-JAPAN TRADE IS ALSO ONE OF PRINCIPAL SUPPORTS OF WORLD TRADING SYSTEM AND IS CRUCIAL TO HEALTH OF WORLD ECONOMY.

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5. IT MAY BE USEFUL TO POINT OUT AS AMBASSADOR HAS IN HIS SPEECHES HERE, THAT JAPAN LIKE U.S. IS TRUE DEMOCRACY, WHERE CONFLICTING INTERESTS FIND FREE EXPRESSION. JAPANESE DIET MEMBERS AND AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN BEHAVE IN REMARKEDLY SIMILAR WAYS WHEN INTERESTS OF THEIR CONSTITUENTS ARE AT STAKE. BUT IN BOTH COUNTRIES, SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE COMPROMISES MUST EVOLVE THAT RESPECT NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS.

6. IT HAS STRUCK US THAT IF ECONOMIC QUESTIONS ARE PUT ASIDE, THERE IS REMARKABLE CONSONANCE OF VIEW BETWEEN JAPAN AND U.S. ON ALMOST ALL MAJOR INTERNATIONAL ISSUES, INCLUDING CHINA, USSR, SOUTHEAST ASIA (ASEAN), DISARMAMENT, NORTH/SOUTH PROBLEMS, COMBATTING TERRORISM, ETC., ETC. EVEN IN KOREA, OUR BASIC INTERESTS ARE PARALLEL AND THE TROOP WITHDRAWAL PROGRAM IS ACCEPTED AS NOW CAVEATED WITH CONDITIONS. THIS REMARKABLE IDENTITY OF INTEREST COULD WELL BE USED TO BALANCE ANY EXPOSITION OF OUR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES.

7. LASTLY, WE WOULD RECOMMEND UNDERSCORING SOME OF THE SAME THEMES IN SECRETARY BROWN'S LOS ANGELES SPEECH OF

FEB. 20, PARTICULARLY IN REGARD TO CONTINUITY OF OUR ASIAN COMMITMENTS. BROWN'S SPEECH WAS WELL RECEIVED HERE AND WIDELY READ BY EXPERTS, BUT UNFORTUNATELY DID NOT GET HEAVY MEDIA PLAY. THIS WOULD BE EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO CALL ATTENTION TO MAINTENANCE OF ROUGH STRATEGIC BALANCE WITH SOVIET UNION, AT SAME TIME THAT WE HONOR SUCH FUNDAMENTAL REGIONAL COMMITMENTS AS OUR SECURITY TREATIES WITH JAPAN, KOREA, AND PHILIPPINES. IT COULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY TREATY CONTINUES TODAY, AS IT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 TOKYO 06290

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HAS SINCE ITS SIGNING, TO MAKE MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO STABILITY THROUGHOUT EAST ASIA, PROVIDING SALUTARY CLIMATE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IN CONTEXT OF U.S.-JAPAN PARTNERSHIP IT COULD BE NOTED THAT WE WELCOME RESPONSIBLE ATTITUDE OF JAPAN IN REGARD TO SECURITY MATTERS BUT THAT, SPECULATION TO CONTRARY, WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF HANDING JAPANESE DEFENSE BLUEPRINT WE FEEL THEY SHOULD FOLLOW.

8. AS WE OBSERVE PREPARATIONS FOR FUKUDA'S VISIT, WE SEE AS HIS MAJOR OBJECTIVE PROLONGATION OF PERIOD OF RELATIVE QUIET, FREE OF MUTUAL RECRIMINATION, WHICH GOJ CAN USE FURTHER TO STRIVE FOR ACHIEVEMENT OF ECONOMIC GOALS IT HAS SET FOR ITSELF. WE BELIEVE IT IS IN OUR INTEREST TO HELP PM TO ACHIEVE THIS OBJECTIVE; BRZEZINSKI SPEECH CAN MAKE MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TOWARD THIS END. MANSFIELD

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